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MORE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ANTI-ORANGE PETITIONS.

4, Bulstrode-street, London,
11th July, 1814.

SIR,—In reply to your favour of the 4th of this month, I have no hesitation in agreeing with you in opinion, that more might well have been said, during the course of the present session, as well upon the subject of the claims of the Catholics, as upon the grievances to which the community at large are subjected, from the too triumphant atrocities of that desperate Orange faction, whose existence, in any thing like a civilized society, is a disgrace to the executive government, in whatever hands. With these impressions on my mind, I made every endeavour to create a general discussion, by the line which I took on presenting the several Catholic petitions. But the general feeling of the House was against it.

On the presentation of the petition set on foot by the very respectable body whom you represent, I was prevented by illness from attending in my place, or my feeble voice would not have been want-

ing in directing the attention of the House to the necessity of repressing, by the prompt and strong interposition of legal correction, those impudent and atrocious attacks on the peace of society, against which your complaints are so strongly pointed. I am still confined, and have little hope of being enabled to attend the discussion of any of Mr. Peel's present measures. Could I attend, I shall certainly endeavour to persuade those who feel as I do upon the general subject, how good an opportunity would be afforded to us upon the reading of these bills, of inculcating the necessity of the protection of the law, equally against the excesses of Orangemen, as against those of any other miscreants, by the existence of whom our country is disgraced.

I remain with much truth and earnestness in the furtherance of the objects of your public spirited society,

Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

DONOUGHMORE.

John Hancock,
Lisburn.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

THE head of the British Empire, we mean the metropolis, has been kept, for some time past, in a sort of vertigo, bordering upon intoxication, by splendid fetes, a succession of festivities, and a sudden familiarity with the highest personages of Europe. A fondness for pomp, and pageantry, and what the French call "Spectacle," seems to have migrated from Paris to London. Whether this influenza of fashion and lavish expenditure for a few hours entertainment, may, primarily, originate from a foolish personal ostentation in a certain quarter, which, having no home, is constantly seeking for the means of escaping from itself, by a fresh stimulant and a fugitive enjoyment; or whether it proceed from the wide spread influence of military man-

ners, which give the ton to society; or whether it arise from that disregard to the real value and proper use of money, which the fictitious flow, and deceptive abundance of it, has produced, more or less, in the minds of all ranks of people, whatever be the causes, singly or conjunctively, we are inclined to think that the public mind of Britain, has, in effect, changed its sober, sedate, reflective, Germanic cast of character, into an easy indifference about subjects of political concern, and a Gallic levity that squanders to-day, and is careless of to-morrow.

"We may take," says an excellent writer, "a certain *scale* of the virtues and vices of a man (and we make the quotation as equally applicable to a whole people) from the proportion which his expences

bear to his revenue, and we may calculate from his demands for money, the extent of his probity, his integrity in fulfilling his engagements, *his devotion to the public cause, and the sincerity of his attachment to his country.*" There is a time, it may be said, for every thing, a time for expending thousands and tens of thousands upon squibs and crackers; and *be it so*, provided there be also an approaching time, for the highest station setting such an example to the lowest, as will check instead of cherishing the habits of dissipation, created by circumstances personal, as well as public, connected with the war; by military manners; and by that plethora of paper money which stimulated to extravagance, and has, in so many instances, ended in ruin.

Europe has been most fortunate in the termination of war, and is now to prepare itself for a general cultivation, and an impartial distribution of the blessing of peace. We must ascribe the happy termination of this war, principally to good fortune, (for there is some reason to think, that had every Frenchman performed his duty to the late government, Napoleon's change of military position, so disastrous to his cause, in the event, was, in itself, well calculated to ensure him final and decisive victory,) and to the same good fortune it is to be ascribed, that the future fate and destinies of Europe, depend upon the determination of potentates, who appear, *in general*, to be plain, sincere, solid, sensible men, well lessoned in the most instructive history of these latter times both to princes, and to people; men who wish to remain unseen and unnoticed in parades and processions, but are always prepared to come forward in the period of danger, and to take their post of glorious duty to themselves and their

country, on the roughest edge of battle; men, who can send their subordinate officers, their Blücher's, and their Platow's, to encounter the campaign of courtesies and compliments, and in the mean time, themselves, retreat to the better enjoyment of friendly and familiar conversation, exemplified by the Emperor of all the Russias in his predilection for the society of his sister, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburg, a fair lady, who certainly, if she reported well all the variety of objects she had seen during her residence in England, must have been a most entertaining companion.

Europe at present appears to us in the light of a mild monarchy, impressed with a due sense of the sufferings of the people in consequence of war, and of their just claims of compensation for those sufferings, not so much in pecuniary assistance, from the bounty of Britain, as in having an opportunity of setting up again for themselves, and making the utmost of their respective commercial capabilities, by the extension and equalization of political and religious freedom. Restoration, not partition; assimilation, not spoliation, will become the actuating principle of the great European Monarchy. That personal intercourse which has lately taken place among the leading potentates, and which might, under other circumstances, and with men of other dispositions, have led to the permanent subjugation of mankind under a military despotism, will we trust, lead the approaching congress to enunciate and guarantee the rights of man in the rights of nations, and to promulgate such a system of public law, as may create, and continue a balance of *justice* as well as of power on the continent of Europe. When Alexander extends his hand to Kosciuszko, he re-

vives in every heart the recollection of the unhappy fate of Poland, and means, we must suppose, to raise that country along with its fallen hero from oblivion. It is this spirit of restoration actuating the councils of the potentates of Europe, which can alone repress the recurrence of a revolutionary spirit at a time, shortly to arise, when the warring powers will be necessitated to diminish their military establishments. It is only indeed by keeping up a martial *cast* in every country to its fullest extent, and with privileges and interests opposed to the common interests, occasioning an expenditure during peace, altogether impossible for the governments on the continent to support, it is only by such means, or, by meeting and marching along with public opinion, that the world can for any length of time enjoy tranquillity.

Public opinion, we again repeat, is the sovereign of Europe; and happy will it be, if the sovereigns assembled in congress pay a proper regard to that verdict of mankind long since given distinctly and decisively, upon the despotic dismemberment of Poland. *Here*, was the fatal precedent of iniquitous spoliation, and unless this be atoned for, by a practical repentance on the part of those monarchs, who are still possessed of their share of the spoil, there can be no security for Norway, for Italy, for Saxony, or any other portion of Europe, periodically dissected as they have been in the map, and distracted in all moral feelings and patriotic attachments by revolutions, and counter-revolutions, succeeding so rapidly to each other.

It is said, and we rejoice to hear it, that the Emperor Alexander, by proclamation made at Warsaw, June 11th, has not only left their arms to the remainder of the Polish troops,

and permitted their return to their country, but has even recognized the necessity of increasing the national force, and ordered that all the Poles engaged in the late war, and even those made prisoners, should participate in the benefit. It is thus that this great man should, from the height of the continental congress, promulgate those great moral and political truths (essentially the same) which gives liberty and happiness to the world. Xerxes, from the summit of his chariot, as history has thought it worth while to record, burst into tears, when he reflected that not one of the million that lay under his eye, would survive, in a few fleeting years. But Xerxes was a tall, foolish man, with soft eyes, and a hard heart, who could moralize one moment, and the next, lead on his myriads to certain destruction, while Alexander, in ratifying the independence of nations, and the liberties of mankind, will prolong the happiness of this perishable life, and confer on himself a terrestrial immortality. The Congress at Vienna will be opened on the 1st of October, and the expectant eyes of all Europe are turned to the result.

They expect a recognition of the illegality and injustice of the slave-trade, such as may put a final and universal interdict to this traffic in human misery and blood. The inhabitants of Spanish America, while busied in their own defence, and struggling to throw off a galling yoke, which they endured for 300 years, have, in the midst of their affliction and distress, turned their eyes of compassion towards their African fellow-beings, and seek to place an impenetrable barrier to the inroads of avarice; and shall the nations of Europe connive at the renewal of this trade? Servitude has a variety of gradations; its shades of colour are numerous in this civil-

ized world, but the slave trade of Africa is certainly the blackest of them all.

They expect a recognition of the liberty of the press ; such as will deliver even humiliated France from that consummate slavery of the mind, which requires the preliminary imprimatur of censors, appointed by the crown, for all works not exceeding 120 pages, and, thus, declares, that no journal or periodical publication shall be published, except by the authority of the King, leaving to the public the liberty of praising the acts of government, without the privilege of discussing them. Such are the laws, when the executive and legislative departments are confounded with each other, and when every law-court must become an arbitrary and variable legislature, wholly dependent on the despotic will, or caprice of the Sovereign. We consider the periodical press as the most efficient representative of public opinion, and we believe no means could more certainly advance political and religious reform among mankind, than a public and national association for elevating, to its due eminence, by honorary distinction or pecuniary remuneration, this republic of letters, as contradistinguished from the obsequious and time-serving aristocracy of literature.

Much, therefore, is expected from this continental congress by the citizens of the world. The spirit of moderation and magnanimity which appears to actuate the councils of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, will, it is to be hoped, restore, reform, and regenerate Europe, not by new territorial divisions, so much as by the review of the law of nations, and the promulgation of a just and impartial commercial code, which will protect the interests of national industry, both on sea and land.

In Britain, the return of peace has,

we think, had already the effect of turning the public attention to objects of domestic concern, and questions that lead to the improvement of the practical constitution. The case of Lord Cochrane derives its chief importance, in our minds, from its tendency to lead to several improvements in penal legislation. He appears to have been a sort of sleeping partner, in a gambling company, and scarcely to have been awakened when the danger to his character was most imminent. Although we now believe him innocent of the charge, yet his conduct appears to have been extremely reprehensible in several particulars ; but, without entering into the merits or demerits of the case, he may be said to be the means of *embodying* and personifying public questions of great importance to the community, and by the party and personal feeling thus excited, the attention of the people at large will be more impressively fixed than is possible in the discussion of these subjects, *abstractly and generally*. Lord Cochrane's character has nearly been shipwrecked on the rock of evil company, but he has got off by the turn of tide in his favour, from the date of the disgusting punishment allotted to his imprudence, which has however been remitted, most ungraciously, as we think, by including in the same pardon, the men who have acknowledged themselves guilty.

We think that the moral corruption of the state, as well as of individuals, in a great degree proceeds from the quantity of the national debt, and the stock-jobbing, or in other words, gambling disposition which is diffused by this example and authority, throughout all ranks of society, under the title of *speculation*. Speculation floating upward upon an overflow of paper currency, has produced the greatest dissipation and extravagance of ex-

penditure, and to support such expences, every mode of procuring money is considered, at first, as lawful, and, afterwards, necessary. A simplicity of manners, a limitation of wants, and contentment with a little, are scarcely ever to be met with; and both the manners and morals of individuals, are formed on the model of the very characters, in highest life, which they affect to condemn.

We lament that in several districts of several counties of *Ireland*, (Westmeath, Queen's-County, Tipperary,) the ordinary operation of the law is not sufficient to secure the peace of society, and several well authenticated instances of outrage, confined to the lowest order of the people, have given occasion to a fresh course of penal enactments. "Towards the recovery of the hearts of the people," says Lord Verulam, "there be three things, religion, secondly justice and protection, thirdly obligation and reward, the last of which appears strangely to have escaped the minds of rulers;" and we would beg Mr. Peele to look, at his leisure, through this whole passage in Bacon's works, vol. iii., p. 215, for, curious as it may appear, the same good advice has been given with respect to the proper treatment of this country, yet notwithstanding the same penal plans have been periodically put in practice, from the time of that great philosopher and statesman, down to the present day, manifestly proving either the incurable evil disposition of the Irish people, or the precarious and palliative nature of the remedies employed.

We lament that while the business of finance is made so extensive and fertile a field as to supply Mr. Fitzgerald (a native of Ireland) with even the flowers of rhetoric; we have a lamentable deficiency in the speeches of Mr. Peele, (a stranger

to Ireland,) either unwilling to afford or incapable of affording a broad comprehensive survey of the political state of this unhappy island, past as well as present, philosophically retrospective, and sagaciously prospective, so as to lay the foundation of a plan of administrative government, not partial and temporary, but co-extensive with the country, and radically remedial; applying not merely a discutient plaster to this or that eruption, but sweetening, and, at the same time, strengthening the whole system. It is the conviction of our heads and hearts, that, while the great *mass* of any community continues to be discontented with its political, and *therefore* with its personal situation in society, there will, there must, from time to time, *always* arise either the hard or the happy necessity (as men are disposed to name it,) of strengthening the executive by extraordinary powers, turning, as in the present instance, the constitutional and customary civil authority, into a new order of military magistracy, dependent upon the crown, gradually absorbing and superseding the justiceship of peace into a stipendiary who may consider of the most likely means of retaining that stipend, and of propagating this mongrel police throughout the whole country. These novelties in jurisdiction tend to demoralize the virtue of the constitution, by introducing a species of amphibious authority neither wholly civil nor wholly military, and to add to that list of professional and official expectants, who already over-run the land, and push their fortunes by seizing every opportunity of calumniating their country.

Mr. Peele declares these disturbances neither to be of a religious or political character. "Every person," his correspondent says, "upon whom torture has been inflicted, eve-

ry person murdered, or attempted to be murdered, is a Roman Catholic." But we regret to state that this habitual lawlessness, and disposition to outrage among the lower orders, have their sources, however distant, in the spirit of a penal system, and in the suspicion and enmity kept up by that system between the higher and lowest ranks, which might have given place, a century ago, to a spirit of amity and good understanding, by a more timely repeal of this cruel and impolitic code; and will continue for a century to come, if a relique of it be left surviving in the statute-book of Britain. It is one of the roots of the cancer which has inflicted such pain and distress upon Ireland, and will continue to destroy the comfort and good order of society, until it be totally eradicated.

Shame upon the misrule, that has made conspiracy, of one kind or another, high or low, the whole history of a country, and that goes on with insurrection bill, and arms bill, and bill to preserve the peace, as if such outrages and such remedies were *for ever* to continue the history of the country. If there be no statesman of the day who can go beyond these temporary expedients of the Irish secretary, calculated to preserve the peace at least *for his time of stay* in the country, might not a committee, select, or secret, be better able to make a full, fair, and free exposition of the state of this part of the Empire, for the public advantage; and in the interval of the session might not such a masterly document be prepared, as would prove to satisfaction, that Catholic emancipation would, in no long course of time, turn out to be the best national education, the most radical cure of the lawlessness of the lowest order, by conciliating the great majority of the inhabitants, and thus making it

the common interest and anxiety of *all* the superior classes to protect property and preserve peace.

We agree in thinking with the Irish secretary (who has probably never travelled fifty miles out of Dublin Castle,) that these outrages are neither of a political nor of a religious character; yet notwithstanding, we think, that they are indirectly connected with the grand grievance of Ireland, viz. an unequal balance of political power, by a lengthened chain, the minute links of which we do not at present wish to particularize.

But, most certainly, rackrents and land jobbing, facilitated of late by the delusive flow of a paper circulation, and a fictitious credit, which outbids the wretched peasantry, and drives them to madness, are links of this heavy chain. Assuredly, the quantity of production in Ireland requires a more general distribution, and labour does not find that adequate reward in many parts of the country, which can enable even the most frugal to realize any capital, such as might not only secure possession, in case the payment of a fine be exacted on renewal of the lease, but would give the peasant that interest in and desire for the preservation of domestic peace, which the least accumulation of property always produces. We want that establishment and diffusion of manufactures which always creates and secures a *certain and steady* demand for the surplus produce of the soil. The occasional war demand for that produce, and extraordinary gains in consequence, has been succeeded by a depreciation not merely of money, but of *money's worth*, which must affect, more or less, every rank in the community, not the trading interest only, but the agricultural in all its departments.

And indeed we should think that

Mr. Fitzgerald, before he opened his budget of taxation, might, from common foresight, have anticipated the distress about to fall on the trading interest of Ireland, and the class of workmen which it supported in consequence of the sudden peace, and not less from the fallacious representations held out through ministerial papers, respecting the wants of the continent in colonial, as well as in our domestic produce. With respect to manufactures, particularly of cotton, we now find that for twenty years past the progress of this branch of industry in France (the France of military conscription,) has been such as not only to supply all the cotton fabrics which were brought formerly from the Indies, Switzerland, and England, but also to provide for the demand of the whole continent from the Adriatic to the Baltic, and to give full employment to 600,000 workmen.

The state of Europe in a commercial point of view has changed, and that change will be accelerated in consequence of the continental peace. Embargoes and blockades, have thrown countries back upon their resources, stimulated domestic industry, and promoted self-dependence. The free circulation of the produce of the soil, and the encouragement of manufactures, will become the grand object of the continental Sovereigns, who are instructed by the press (the slow but sure reformer of the world,) that the most effectual mode of securing the permanent industry of mankind, is to place them in such circumstances as to enable them to find a ready market for the produce of labour, or the product of ingenuity, and then to leave individuals under as few restrictions as possible, to find out the way in which they can most benefit themselves. No treaties of commerce will be entered into, merely

to protect and secure monopoly, and Great Britain will have to enter into a fair and free competition with the rising manufactures, and approaching intimate commercial intercourse between America and the continent of Europe.

But we are now to ask, is there nothing more to be done in the present session with respect to *Ireland*, than the enactment of these tranquillizing bills, which transfer the office, and constitutional privileges of grand and petit juries to county magistrates, serjeants, and barristers at law? We hear of no conspiracy in the country, and we trust that there is no conspiracy in the cabinet. We would still hope that the conference between Lord Castlereagh and the Cardinal Gonsalvi (an extraordinary occurrence,) will lead to some conciliatory plan that may produce something better than the tranquillity of terror throughout the land. It is not unlikely that the Pope himself has been terrified of late by the schemes of domestic nomination, which have become popular even among the Catholic priesthood; and, let us hope that the two Secretaries of State will see the necessity, the immediate necessity, of such a political and religious concordat, as will preserve the state from civil dissension, and the church from a spiritual schism.

We conclude this subject, at present, by repeating our astonishment that the government of Lord Whitworth has been able to produce nothing better than a proscription of constitutional privileges in a few districts of Ireland, and a system of police espionage, which must spread alarm and suspicion of every man against his neighbour, as a means of satisfying an already sorely aggrieved people, and uniting them in indissoluble ties of friendly connection to the British Empire, by a full participation of the British constitu-

tion. Is this all that has been expected on the part of the Irish nation, all that is to be expected on the part of their representatives in Parliament, and is the session to close without a single word of hope held out of any comprehensive system in contemplation to be brought forward in the ensuing session?

Oh! blindness of the future, never to be instructed by the past! Oh! supreme ignorance of human nature, that teaches children by honours and rewards, and educates men by pains and penalties! Severity seems the general political order of the day. Severity in the executive! Severity in the judicial! Severity in the legislative departments! It is, we believe, a mode either of public or private reform, unsuitable to the age of the world, or to human creatures of any age, whether man or boy, woman or girl. It makes the individual as well as the society more bent upon ill designs, more sullen, more impracticable, and when persevered in, such a regimen has been often known to create that *insanity*, which it did not find. Hear this, ye physicians of the state! and beware, ye, who think to atone for the most shameful previous neglect, mismanagement, and misgovernment, by a regimen fitter for the castigation of inferior animals, than the preparation of man for social order.

Peace arrives, with healing under her wings, to all the world save Ireland. The British press may truly be said to advertise for disturbance and insurgency in this island. Ireland is marked by the *Sun* newspaper in capital letters ("and who dare give the *Sun* the lie,") "AS THE MOST DEPRAVED COUNTRY UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH." "The savages of the wildest islands of the southern hemisphere, or the interior of Africa,

where the influence of a burning sun inflames the passions to madness, furnish no parallel to the barbarities and hellish deeds perpetrated by these fiends. Are these the fruits of Catholicism? If so, Heaven defend us from giving any farther licence to its encroachments."

Is such a paragraph, in a ministerial paper, meant to appease and conciliate, and to unite, or to beat up for disturbance throughout this most unfortunate country, where after the lapse of more than a century, the shouts of conquest and subjugation are hailed in the ears of the inhabitants as they were on the very eve of a hard fought battle. Much and bitterly could we reply to this most false, slanderous, and malicious paragraph, but we throw the pen far from our hand, fearful, we acknowledge it, very fearful of adding a single drop to the cup of exasperation which this ministerial paper wishes as soon as possible to overflow, silently beseeching the All-Merciful to avert his judgments from a land "so long scattered and *Peeled*, meted out, and trodden down," and now, once again, by insults and indignities worse than ill-usage, stimulated to outrage, and goaded to insurrection. But let us most solemnly warn the people of this country of whatever description or denomination; that although we may reason and remonstrate against the law, we are never to act against it; that outrages and resistance to the laws are the most effectual modes of answering the secret wishes of their bitterest enemies, and of defeating that impartial parliamentary examination into the state of Ireland which must shortly take place, and, in the result, will assuredly lead to an equalization of *political* rights and privileges in every part of the British Empire, without regard to *religious* distinctions, the

only effectual means of securing a general good understanding between the superior and inferior classes of society, and of producing good neighbourhood and permanent tranquillity throughout the land. Peace abroad, and peace at home, must, in reality, hang upon the *self-same* principles, the total abandonment of the spirit of *SPOILIATION*, and the thorough re-establishment of the spirit of *RESTORATION*. In this course of conduct alone, can be found a full indemnity for the *past*, and a perfect security for the *future*. And may God so dispose the minds of our rulers, who bear at this moment such an awful responsibility!—GIVE US OUR COUNTRY AGAIN, IN ITS INDEPENDENCE, OR GIVE US YOUR CONSTITUTION IN ALL ITS INTEGRITY. ONE OR OTHER OF THESE ALTERNATIVES ONLY CAN SATISFY AND GIVE PEACE TO IRELAND!

"As an Englishman," says Mr. Wilberforce, (that glorious antagonist of servitude *in one colour*!) "as an Englishman, I owe reparation to Ireland for the wrongs of centuries." Why then delay this long-required reparation from session to session, as you have done, from century to century? Restore to us the spirit and effect of the treaty you had broken. Restore the whole constitution to the country, and you train, educate, exalt, and pacify the country, by the vital influence and energy of that constitution. Eradicate the penal code. Assimilate the commercial code. Renovate the constitutional code. From that hour, the germ of all the social virtues which nature has implanted in the bosoms of Irishmen will be excited into action. Charity, the love of our neighbour, fraternal sentiments, reciprocal wants, will, gradually, but not slowly, unite individuals of all religions into a community of citizens, a family of tender attachments.

Riots, in rumour and in reality, will no longer be the disgrace of the day. Penal acts, and Mr. Peele will pass away together. The legislative union will then take effect in the freedom, peace, and prosperity of the British Empire.

"DOWN WITH THE LIBERAL," is the infatuated and ungrateful cry in Spain. "DOWN WITH THE LIBERAL," is the infatuated and ungrateful cry in the British isles. Ferdinand is ungrateful, because he owes the struggle, which was so long made in his unworthy name, to the liberality of the people. These countries are ungrateful to the best defenders of their rights, who are always to be found in the ranks of the liberal. This consolation however, remains to the virtuous few. The spirit of no nation can be subdued without its own consent, and no man's public spirit can be lost, unless he himself either through cowardice or apathy surrender the fortress.

Spain restores the Inquisition, but whether in the full plenitude of its power, remains yet to be seen. Will the nineteenth century thus relapse into the barbarism of the sixteenth? Let arbitrary power proceed with hasty strides; the more violent the efforts are to restore it, the shorter may be its duration. The chain too tightly bound may be sooner broken by the elasticity of the human mind giving resistance to oppression.

The press is severely watched, and attempts are made in all countries to shackle it. Rulers know this is the best method of enslaving the public mind, either by deterring from the bold utterance of truth, or by seducing the managers of it to corrupt the public taste. A severe sentence has been passed in Spain against some persons for publishing matters displeasing to the

minions of Ferdinand. The new legislature in France has been making some feeble efforts to give a degree of liberty to the press, but they will probably be ineffectual owing to the incubus of the royal authority, paralyzing all capability to resist. The power of originating laws being vested in the executive, affords a most unjust preponderance, and bears a resemblance to the law of Poyning, which for some centuries degraded Ireland, by preventing any bills being introduced directly into parliament, which had not previously passed through the British and Irish privy councils. Under such a system, liberty in general, in France, and that most important branch, the freedom of the press, must droop. The new government is equally jealous of the press, as the late one, and Napoleon and Louis, although differing so greatly both in capacity and habits, nevertheless agree in this one point, of being foes to free inquiry, and in the policy of restraining this vehicle of public feeling. We cannot boast of the freedom of our own. They who are unfriendly to liberty, sometimes profane the accents of it by usurping them. In their occupation, even truth degenerates into cant, and the expression of the glowing sentiments of freemen is rare. The press is thus borne down by the strong hand of power, and feebly supported by the spirit of the people. Its tones are faint, and its energy is nearly gone.

The exposé of the state of France, lays open the present situation of that country, owing to the wild schemes of conquest produced by the mad plans of Bonaparte. It is less flattering, but certainly not less true, than the deceitful representations he was accustomed to give. Statesmen nearer home, might with

truth make a similar representation, if it suited their views, and tell us of the dilapidation of British finance, and injured trade and manufactures; themes more befitting our state, than the frothy declamation of Canning, who rants in favour of the British constitution disfigured as it is with all its corruptions and imperfections. This new exposé well describes the horrors of the military system in France, which has so often without due reflection of its shocking consequences been approved by many there, as well as in this country, who dazzled by the splendid, but ruinous victories of Bonaparte, with unreflecting thoughtlessness applauded the destroyer of the happiness of millions. Mankind sickened under the prodigal waste of the havoc occasioned by war, not only by the primary consideration of the destruction of human life, but also by the abridgment of happiness occasioned by the burdens it entailed. War notwithstanding the boasts of Bonaparte, and of our war-merchants at home proved bad for trade, and was most highly injurious to the happiness of the people.

Our burdens cease not with the war. A most profuse expenditure has occurred to make a kind of spectacle, as a mode of celebrating the return of peace. This business is disavowed both by the ministers regular and irregular. The heads of the treasury and of all the public offices disavow it: and even the head of the household troops sends a message by his son to the house of Commons to disclaim it. The Prince Regent is the sole actor and planner. This is a dangerous precedent. What now becomes of the boasted illusive doctrine of the responsibility of ministers, as a poor substitute for the irresponsibility of the crown, if exhibitions fit only to

please children, but yet adding enormously to the burdens of the people can be carried on without any accountability? These follies pass with little reprehension in Parliament: the people out of doors murmur, and as far as the low state of public spirit will permit, they complain. These shows still farther tend to debase the lofty feelings of independence. They remind of the worse state of ancient Rome. The Emperors gave shows and games, and the people ignominiously bartered their liberties, sometimes for gaudy spectacles, and at other seasons for distributions of bread and money to the gaping and debased crowds. The latter circumstance has not yet to take place, for the people are to be admitted by half guinea tickets to view part of the amusements provided at their cost, and the money by a refinement of affected, hypocritical sentimentality is to be appropriated for some grand national charity.

The article in the treaty of peace by which the French are to continue the Slave Trade for five years, gives universal dissatisfaction, and petitions pour in from all quarters in England against the compromise of national feeling made by Lord Castlereagh in the late negotiation. A few petitions have likewise been sent from Ireland, but the expression is far from being as unanimous as in Great Britain.* If Lord Castlereagh had been hearty

in the cause, he might doubtless have obtained better conditions for the Africans. He has overcome greater difficulties in a worse cause, as for instance, in the case of the Irish union. He skulks from producing the papers relating to this part of the negotiation, conscious of not having exerted himself in it, for which as being the cause of humanity he felt very little warmth. His usual cant however, does not forsake him, and he excuses himself by bringing forward a maxim, which has certainly not peculiarly characterized him in other instances through life, "that moderation is not to be taught by the sword." The pretext may serve a present purpose, and this man since his return from the continent is frequently cheered in the house of Commons. This surely is an omen of bad times.

Proclamations of uncommon severity have appeared against some rebellious slaves in Dominica, and yet no pains are taken to investigate into the causes, or to know whether the actual conduct of the black insurgents warrants the severity of the measures ordered by the proclamations. Such an inquiry might probably be troublesome, and above all might lead to the censure of men in authority. This would be an uncourtly proceeding in the present leaning of public opinion towards a mawkish sentimentality, without a full and decided commitment in the cause of justice. Even something may be justly alleged against William Wilberforce, notwithstanding all his virtuous exertions in the cause of humanity against the African Slave Trade. He too affords an instance of human inconsistency, and of an alloy of baser materials with the sterling metal. He is generally the inconsistent supporter of all the measures of government, even when these measures are

* Our readers will find at page 71, among the Documents, an interesting discussion at a town meeting in Liverpool, in which the slave trade was viewed, as it ought, in the light of an unjust invasion of the rights of others, to which *colour* ought to make no exception. The objections resting solely on the grounds of commercial interest, were very properly scouted, and the business with great propriety was placed on the plea of substantial justice.

decidedly repugnant to humanity. Alas! for human frailty, he was the strenuous supporter of the late war, and has in the present session been the advocate for starving the Norwegians into a forced compliance with the plans of despots, to make a partial partition in the north of Europe; while in the south they liberally adopted some fine phrases against the usurpations of France.

Lord Cochrane has been expelled from the House of Commons, and again returned by the electors of Westminster. He has been degraded from being Knight of the Bath, but the sentence of the pillory has been remitted, in consequence of a sentiment of disapprobation of its severity, pretty generally expressed in the House of Commons, and probably because in the present temper of the people respecting him, the pillory in his case would have been more a place of triumph than a disgrace. Extreme severity generally produces a re-action. Lord Ellenborough is considered to have borne hard on him, not only in his charge to the jury, but also in the rigour of the sentence, especially as far as related to his standing in the pillory. Lord Ellenborough is certainly not the most popular man in England, and perhaps some part of his unpopularity was mistakenly placed to the credit of Lord Cochrane in estimating his guilt. The rule of the court of King's Bench in refusing a new trial, appeared also, in some measure, to be hard, because all the other conspirators did not appear in court at the time of applying for it. Yet it is not quite equitable that after a conviction on the general merits of the conspiracy, he should be allowed to bring forward for his own single exculpation witnesses, which he might have produced, but did not, at the former trial. The story of Butt

making a profit for him of £480, without his participation, as a lure to enter into stock-jobbing speculations, throws a doubt over his last exculpatory affidavit, and raises a suspicion as to his complete exemption from a participation in the fraud. His conduct is still involved in mystery. If he did not participate in a previous knowledge of the fraud, he appears to have at least in some degree acquiesced in the iniquitous attempt on the trial to prove an alibi in the case of De Berenger. After a calm survey of the business, the writer of this article, although not uninfluenced by the force of public opinion, and not unsusceptible of some doubts passing through his mind from the positive manner in which Lord Cochrane has declared his innocence, is still, upon the whole, inclined to hold to his former opinion, and to persist in the painful apprehension that Lord Cochrane is to a certain degree, if not to the full extent, guilty of a share in the nefarious conspiracy.

The 12th of this month, the anniversary of Orange outrage and insult, passed more quietly than the excesses of last year gave reason to fear. In Belfast the procession was much smaller than usual. The plan of a large assembly of Orangemen going to Belfast to celebrate a triumph for their deeds of last year, to insult the relatives of those who were slaughtered and wounded at that time, and most probably to repeat similar outrages, was given up, to the no small disappointment and irritation of the ignorant multitude, by the prudence of their leaders, perhaps aided by hints from government, who, though secretly cherishing them, did not incline more fully to support them, or to compromise their own dignity so far as to march "*through Coventry*," with them. General Burnet, the lately appoint-

ed commander of the district, showed decided marks of disapprobation of the procession, and had some soldiers punished for appearing in it. The Sovereign of the town, contrary to his practice of last year, appeared conspicuously on that day, without the insignia of the Orange order, admonished perhaps by the wise counsel of the General, or taking a hint from the disapprobation of the inhabitants, expressed so generally, although it must be admitted by many with such courtly, but ignominious feebleness. If a faint and timid expression of public sentiment did so much good, how much more effectual would have been the more full, unambiguous, and well defined language of freemen.

Even at head quarters at Lisburn, the procession was much less numerous than usual. A correspondent at page 92, has saved us from the trouble of detailing the proceedings of Orangemen in that town. They manifested a disposition very ready for riot, if they had met any resistance. At Holywood an instance of magisterial firmness and propriety occurred, which it is truly pleasing to record. A permanent serjeant of yeomanry, disregarding the duties of his station to preserve the peace, hoisted the signal of discord, the Orange flag, on the May-pole of that village. Hugh Kennedy, a justice of the peace, and commander of the corps of yeomanry, forced the serjeant to take down the flag which he had hoisted, and had the folly to call the King's colours, and thus restored peace. This praiseworthy conduct is far better deserving of the name of loyalty, as promoting real obedience to the laws, than the behaviour of other magistrates, who are loud in the boasts of their supposititious loyalty, and who yet by their manner of proceeding, by their violent gestures, and their wearing of

the party insignia, instead of preserving peace, contribute most essentially to a breach of it, by the countenance they afford to the actual violators of good order.

Although the 12th passed over thus more peaceably, the bitter fruits of this procession have since taken place in the neighbourhood of Downpatrick. On that day, a numerous procession of Orangemen paraded, and according to a usual practice of adding an appearance of the sanction of religion to bad deeds, and to the promoting of the hatred of neighbours, a sermon was preached to them in the Cathedral of Down. On the 22d, as a necessary consequence of the doings of the 12th, a riot took place on the race ground near Downpatrick. Some were killed, and others wounded by the firing of the military. These events are sincerely to be deplored, as tending to perpetuate animosities and disturb the peace of the country, as one riotous assembly naturally leads to another. Leaving this business for the present, to the discussions which will probably take place at the approaching assizes, it may yet be allowed to reprehend the partial manner in which these transactions are frequently noticed in common conversation. The conduct of Thrashers is spoken of with a kind of horror, and their misdeeds are harshly censured. Without advocating breaches of the peace on any side, let be remembered that the associations of Thrashers and Ribbonmen are defensive, that Orangemen are chiefly and primarily the aggressors, and that if there were no Orange anniversaries and processions, to provoke a hostile disposition, antagonist societies would in all probability not have arisen.

Upon the whole, there was less of Orange triumph this year than last. The moral force of public opinion's

silently making its way against the system, and has an influence on the conduct of these misguided, and in many instances ferocious men. To this cause may be attributed some symptoms of new born moderation apparent among them, rather than to a radical change in the men, or any amelioration of the system. These circumstances however afford encouragement to persevere. Something has been effected, and more may be yet achieved, by peaceable and legal opposition.

The proceedings in Parliament on the subject of the Anti Orange petitions are also not without considerable interest. All that might have been hoped has not been accomplished, but probably all that could be reasonably expected has followed. The Duke of Sussex and Sir Henry Parnell have done their duty, as may be seen by their speeches placed among the documents, although they were so feebly supported by the Irish members, who, with the exception of Sir John Newport, have persevered in a silence disgraceful to themselves. Peel's defence of Orangemen is rather feeble, and when his speech is taken altogether, he appears to disavow them, and to be ashamed to be fully the advocate of their proceedings, which, with all his sophistry he cannot defend as being strictly legal. A letter from the Earl of Donoughmore, at page 76, is well worthy of attention. He regrets his absence from the House of Lords, occasioned by indisposition, and in manly and energetic terms reprobates the Orange system as a nuisance. He is certainly undeserving of the abuse heaped on him in some popular prints, on account of a temporary difference of sentiment he entertained with the Catholic board. He proves himself to be a true friend to Ireland, and an honest warm-hearted man.

The Irish secretary, by a crafty manœuvre, takes advantage of the disturbances occasioned in the South by the Carders, to throw an odium on the Thrashers and Ribbonmen in the North, while until the subject was forced on him, he forebore all mention of the Orangemen, to whose insults the formation of these counter associations is solely attributable. The Carders have no common cause with the parties, which distract Ulster. They, like the Luddites in England, seek ignorantly, and sometimes ferociously to relieve themselves from some grievances which press on them, but from want of information, instead of bettering their condition, they only make it worse. By their crimes they distress themselves and others. Better instruction, and more mild treatment can only gradually soften their ferocious dispositions. Ignorance is the parent of many vices. Under an alarm raised by their conduct, of which government artfully avail themselves, severe laws are passed to increase the patronage of government, by the appointment of police magistrates and constables, and to constitute in proclaimed districts, the being out of the house after sunset, and before sun-rise, a transportable offence, without the intervention of a jury.

How changeable is the conduct of men, when it is bottomed on hypocritical pretence, and not on adherence to principle! It was lately the ton to abuse the Catholic Board, as vilifying "the inestimable privilege of trial by jury," because they ventured to say that in some cases, as matters were managed, it proved a curse. Now under certain circumstances its benefits are suspended by the legislature for three years. Glaring inconsistency! While these bills were in agitation, our Irish members, with the exception of Sir Henry Parnell, and Sir John Newport, are either with culpable negli-

gence absent, or ingloriously silent, and the care of defending the principles of liberty, as applicable to Ireland, is surrendered to the gratuitous and honourable defence of English constitutional lawyers, to Romilly, Horner, Abercromby, and Grant, to whom Irishmen owe much gratitude for their exertions, although unsuccessful. A minority of six only, resist the severe enactment, and while harsh laws are passed against insurgents of one description, very little notice is taken of the enormities of the Orange faction. So far as Irish affairs are concerned, there is much cause to complain of the managers of the English press, even of that portion of it, which assumes to be liberal. Application was made to insert the Anti-Orange petition, and the statement of reasons in support of it, in Cobbett's Weekly Register, the Morning Chronicle, the Examiner, and the Liverpool Mercury. Some of the editors gave decided refusals, and others treated the application with the silence of contempt. It is a fault too general in the English, to treat the concerns of the Irish with a something worse than indifference. Such indifference to our real state, and disinclination to sift into the real causes of our distractions, are ungenerous and impolitic.

Measures are now concerting for renewing the Anti-Orange petitions to both houses of legislature, in the next session. The occurrences in the present session, instead of discouraging, ought rather to stimulate to a continuance and invigoration of exertions. Nothing good or great can be obtained without perseverance, long and faithfully continued. The voice of justice must at length be heard, if its advocates perform their duty, and do not become weary of well doing. To be heard, to be at length attended to, and to have exertions crowned with success in

the end, has always been the issue of diligent and unabated perseverance in a good cause.

It is very pleasing to observe that J. P. Grant has given notice of his intention to move, early in the next session, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland. It is to be hoped that the petitioners against the many grievances arising from the Orange system, will then have an opportunity of being fully heard. A commission to sit in Ireland would be the most effectual mode of proceeding with the inquiry, as it would be attended with great expense to bring to London the host of witnesses necessary to elucidate the transactions connected with this subject. K.

THE Editor of the Newry Telegraph continues his usual monthly attack of two columns in reply to some short remarks in the Magazine. These remarks cut him sorely, because they point out his apostasy from his former opinions, in accommodation to the depraved taste of his supporters, to whom he abundantly administers his cordials to keep up a false spirit, and prevent them from seeing the real MISERIES of our situation, as far as the state of political liberty and of our commercial interests is concerned. He belongs now to a common class of politicians, who flatter the people in order to deceive them to their ruin. His last answer contains like all his others, a full share of the vanity and self-conceit which characterize all his productions. In the remarks occasionally published in the Magazine on his political conduct, the opposition is made merely on public and not personal grounds of offence. There is a certain period in controversy, beyond which all is noise and dissonance, and he has accelerated this period, by his empty boastings. He forsooth affects condescension in noticing the Magazine as being scarcely known. It may not be known much in the little circle of his acquaintance, and admirers, for people have various tastes, but probably it has as large a number of subscribers, and certainly a more extensive range of circulation than the Newry Telegraph. He boasts of "disdaining a contest, or trampling on the vanquished and prostrate." If his own assertion is to be

credited, "he has confuted his opponent, who is conscious of defeat." However, he should recollect, this insolent style carries no conviction; none but the ignorant give credit to a man for his pompous boasts, and attempts to bespatter his opponent, and above all, to praise himself. Abuse and puffing are no arguments. Readers of discernment will judge for themselves, independently of the assertions of controversialists on both sides. Let the judicious decide between us.

In the style of a political bravo, he dares to prove the inconsistency of granting a veto to the crown on the nomination of Catholic Bishops, with the principles of freedom. We are under no ob-

ligation to answer the challenge of this mighty boaster, nor will we be drawn into a protracted controversy with him. For the sake of our readers, however, it may not be stepping out of the way to say, that a right of rejection vested in commissioners appointed, and removable by the crown, would give a weight of influence to the already overwhelming power of the crown, by operating on the hopes and fears of the Catholic priesthood, so as would most essentially contribute to the injury of the cause of liberty. A power to frustrate translations, or elevations to the mitre, would be a mighty engine in the hand of the minister.

K.

CORRESPONDENCE ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

To the Proprietors of the *Belfast Magazine*.

"Hapless nation! hapless land!
Heap of uncementing sand!
Crumbled by a foreign weight,
And by worse domestic hate."

CONCEIVING that an account of the transactions of the 12th of July in the various parts of this country, may be interesting to some of your readers, I am induced to send you the following accurate report of the proceedings and processions of Orangemen in Lisburn, a town which exhibits in a strong point of view the many evils resulting from the ascendancy of the intolerant and cherished Orange faction. Previously to the 12th, many were the boastings of the pompous display of Orangeism which was expected to take place, as the Orangemen from a considerable circuit of country had intended to march to Belfast, the scene of their famous exploits last year, in killing two and wounding several unoffending individuals. Happily, however, some considerations, among which it may be supposed the fear of the consequences of their insulting parade in that town being mentioned in Parliament, and the speeches of the Duke of Sussex and Sir Henry Parnell, on presenting the Anti-Orange petitions, had a share in moderating their vehemence, and in promoting the prudent resolution to confine their insulting show to the districts in which their strength principally lay.

At length the great, the important day arrived, and at four o'clock in the morn-

ing the peaceable inhabitants were aroused by the firing of guns, to announce the return of the anniversary. About 12 o'clock the procession, which was considerably smaller than usual, proceeded to Derriaghy church, accompanied by the Lisburn yeomanry band, and headed by a man* whose mental faculties have been impaired by drunkenness and paralysis, but who certainly showed on this occasion as much wisdom as any person in the procession. Never did a child, in whose mind rational ideas had remained dormant, when dressed for exhibition at a dancing school, or on being presented with a tawdriily dressed doll, experience more delight than many in the proces-

* This man, who has annoyed the town and neighbourhood of Lisburn for some time past, under the name of Orange Billy, and who is in reality more knave than fool, has been permitted to go about decorated with orange and purple ribbons, and armed with a sword and two bayonets, to the terror and evident danger of many persons. Yet this man experiences the liberality of many who are as cold in reality as the charity of some is ironically represented to be. But the spirit of Orangeism levels all distinctions between good and bad conduct, *provided the loyalty is unquestioned*. What is there so fascinating in Orangeism as to attract idiots to that standard? It certainly is a fact, that I have never seen an Orange procession unaccompanied by some of these poor creatures.